

Preface

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Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition

Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium
on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,
in association with the COMPAUL project

Edited by
H. A. G. Houghton



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PREFACE

The COMPAUL Project

In 2011, the European Research Council awarded Dr Hugh Houghton a Starting Grant to lead a five-year project investigating the earliest commentaries on Paul as sources for the biblical text.¹ This project, known by its acronym COMPAUL, was intended to build on Dr Houghton's doctoral work analysing Augustine's gospel citations.² The aim was to instigate a better understanding of commentaries and their contribution to the transmission of the New Testament in anticipation of two major editing projects: the *Vetus Latina* edition of the four principal letters of Paul and the *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* of all Pauline Epistles being planned by the IGNTP.

Greek commentaries, often in the form of catena manuscripts (exegetical compilations accompanying a continuous biblical text), are one of the more complex and less examined aspects of New Testament tradition. As for individual commentators, one extreme is represented by the extremely abundant textual history of the writings of John Chrysostom, the principal fourth-century Greek commentator on the Bible, with a corresponding lack of modern editions. The opposite is embodied in the meagre Greek fragments remaining of Origen's highly influential expositions of New Testament books. On the Latin side, the abundance of Pauline commentaries produced between the middle of the fourth century and the early fifth century not only inaugurate a distinctive Latin exegetical tradition but also constitute much of the evidence for the Old Latin versions of the Epistles, preceding the revision of their biblical text around

¹ The project was funded by the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) under grant agreement no. 283302.

² See further H.A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John. Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*. Oxford: OUP, 2008, and H.A.G. Houghton, 'Augustine's Adoption of the Vulgate Gospels.' *NTS* 54.3 (2008) 450–64.

the beginning of the fifth century which was later adopted as the Vulgate. Marius Victorinus, the anonymous author known as Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Augustine, Pelagius (and his revisors), the anonymous Budapest commentary, Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* and the anonymous Latin version of the Pauline commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia are all of value in understanding the history and reception of the Pauline text as well as early translation practice.

The aim of the project was to combine the collection of biblical evidence which would subsequently be employed in the planned editions of the Pauline Epistles with a broader investigation of the field of commentaries as a whole and the detailed analysis of certain key or lesser-known witnesses.³ Particular attention was paid to the manuscript transmission of commentaries themselves as evidence for the reception of the Pauline text, the distinction of the source from its exegesis, and the co-existence of different textual traditions. Given the lack of existing scholarly resources pertaining to the text of the four principal Pauline Epistles (Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians and Galatians), members of the project team made fresh transcriptions of all the manuscript witnesses to these letters listed in the *Vetus Latina* Register.⁴ They also assembled the text of all the quotations of these four Epistles made by Greek authors up to the middle of the fifth century and Latin writers from the first eight centuries. These online databases will be made available for searching, reuse and integration into other platforms. The gathered data provides significant information about the use, diffusion and understanding of the Pauline corpus as well as the differing forms of the biblical text. The team endeavoured to analyse the internal structure of Latin commentaries and the consistency of their text of each verse using a specially-designed interface, known as the 'comcitation' tool; researchers also experimented with different ways of recording the organisation and relationship of the contents of Greek catena manuscripts in spreadsheets and electronic text encoding.

³ For more on the project goals and background, see Christina M. Kreinecker, 'The Earliest Commentaries on Paul as Sources for the Biblical Text. A New Research Project at the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing at the University of Birmingham'. *Early Christianity* 3.3 (2012) 411–5.

⁴ Roger Gryson, ed., *Allateinische Handschriften/Manuscripts Vieux-Latins. 1. Mss 1–275*. (Vetus Latina 1/1A). Freiburg: Herder, 1999. The transcriptions are to be published online at the website www.epistulae.com and a printed collation of these and other significant Old Latin evidence is in preparation.

Among the planned outputs of the COMPAUL project was an international conference on biblical commentaries and the publication of a collaborative work constituting the state of the art in their study and textual analysis. This is represented by the present volume; more details on its contents and the conference itself are given in separate sections below. Team members have presented the work of the project at a wide range of international conferences and academic gatherings, including the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature and the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, the Oxford International Patristics Conference, the British Patristics Conference and the *Editio Critica Maior* editorial meetings. In addition to this book and the electronic resources mentioned above, the project has generated numerous publications. These include a new analysis of the biblical text in Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians*, examinations of the text of several Old Latin manuscripts (including the anonymous Budapest Commentary on Paul), studies of the newly-rediscovered gospel commentary of Fortunatianus of Aquileia, an investigation of Origen's Pauline citations and a general introduction to the Latin New Testament.⁵

⁵ In chronological order: H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Biblical Text of Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians*'. *JTS* ns 65.1 (2014) 1–24; R.F. MacLachlan, 'A Reintroduction to the Budapest Anonymous Commentary on the Pauline Epistles' in *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton. T&S 3.11. Piscataway: Gorgias, 93–106; Matthew R. Steinfeld, 'Preliminary Investigations of Origen's Text of Galatians', in *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors*, 107–17; H.A.G. Houghton, 'A Longer Text of Paul: Romans to Galatians in Codex Wernigerodensis (VL 58)' in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr. and Paul Foster. NTTSD 50. Leiden: Brill, 2015, 329–44; H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament. A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*. Oxford: OUP, 2016; H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Gospel according to Mark in Two Latin Mixed-Text Manuscripts.' *Revue Bénédictine* 126.1 (2016) 16–58; H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Text of John in Fortunatianus of Aquileia's Commentary on the Gospels' in *Studia Patristica LXXIV. Papers Presented at the Fifth British Patristics Conference*. Leuven: Peeters, 2016. H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Gospel according to Luke in Vetus Latina 11A (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f. 67)' in *Traditio et Translatio. Studien zur lateinischen Bibel zu Ehren von Roger Gryson*, ed. Thomas Johann Bauer. AGLB 40. Freiburg: Herder, 2016, 117–34; H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Divisions and Text of the Gospels in Fortunatianus' Commentary on the Gospels' in a companion volume to Fortunatianus' *Commentary on the Gospels*, ed. L.J. Dorfbauer. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016. See also H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Use of the Latin Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary*

The project was based at the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE) in the School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion at the University of Birmingham. The core team members were Hugh Houghton (Principal Investigator); David Parker (Consultant); Rosalind MacLachlan, Christina Kreinecker, Catherine Smith, Susan Griffith and Amy Myshrrall (Research Fellows); Theodora Panella and Matthew Steinfeld (Doctoral Students). In addition, the following contributed to the collection of data: Jonathan Day, Robin Diver, Alan Taylor Farnes, Samuel Gibson, Rachel Kevern, Christopher Knibbs, Amanda Myers, Holly Ranger, Thomas Ruston, Georgia Tsatsani and Angeliki Voskou. In addition to our grateful acknowledgment of the generous funding of the European Research Council, we would also like to express our gratitude for the support of colleagues in both academic and administrative matters, including Helen Beebee, Helen Ingram, Sue Bowen, Caroline Marshall, and various members of the research finance, human resources, European funding, and Worklink teams at the University of Birmingham.

Contents of the Present Volume

This book offers an account of the state of the question regarding New Testament commentaries and catenae, combining broader surveys of different types of material with more detailed investigations of specific authors and works. Every chapter was originally delivered as a paper at the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament and revised, in the light of discussion at the conference and further research, for inclusion in the present collection. While each contribution stands by itself, the book is arranged thematically and internal cross-references have been added where particular papers treat related topics. Although contributors were not asked to provide separate bibliographies, these have been included for two of the articles in which a catalogue of manuscripts is given, in order to enable the abbreviation of references to secondary literature.

Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis, ed. B.D. Ehrman & M.W. Holmes. 2nd edn. Leiden: Brill, 2012, 375–405; Christina M. Kreinecker, ‘The Imitation Hypothesis. Pseudepigraphic remarks on 2Thess with help from documentary papyri’ in *Paul and Pseudepigraphy*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Gregory P. Fewster. Leiden: Brill, 2013, 197–219; H.A.G. Houghton and C.J. Smith, ‘Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament’ in *The Ancient Worlds in A Digital Culture*, ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley and David Hamidović. Leiden: Brill, 2016. Further publications related to the project are in preparation.

The first four chapters provide overviews of commentary tradition. Expanding on introductory remarks at the Birmingham Colloquium and introducing research from the *Editio Critica Maior* of John and the COMPAUL projects, **H.A.G. Houghton** and **D.C. Parker** offer an introduction to Greek New Testament commentaries. They deal with questions of terminology, describe the layout of commentaries and catenae and briefly introduce the principal Greek commentators along with a summary of research on catenae. The checklist of manuscripts at the end of the chapter brings together the 526 representatives included in the Gregory–Aland *Liste* along with 100 additional witnesses in an attempt to lay the foundations for further study of New Testament catenae. **R.F. MacLachlan** explores the context of commentary in secular Graeco-Latin literature during the first Christian centuries. She describes commentaries on works of literature, Roman legal writings, and philosophical and scientific works: particular subjects include papyrus fragments treating Homer and Demosthenes, commentaries on Aristotle and the Hippocratic Corpus, and the prodigious output of Galen along with his reflections on writing commentary. **Gilles Dorival** traces the development of scholarship on catenae over almost five hundred years, beginning with the sixteenth century. Using the Catenae on Psalms, he seeks to reconstruct the origins of the catena tradition as well as outlining its subsequent reworkings. The differing concerns of philological and historical approaches still leave many questions unanswered, despite significant progress in the latter part of the twentieth century. **William Lamb** considers the catena as a literary genre within Byzantium, arguing that accusations of a lack of originality are unjust. The way in which *florilegia* are assembled, including the treatment of diverse theological positions, requires linguistic and doctrinal sensitivity. Attentiveness to the role of memory in the early medieval period also casts light on the compilers' aims and achievements.

The next four chapters explore aspects of Greek tradition in greater detail. **Bruce Morrill** and **John Gram** first enumerate the differing orders of the Pauline Epistles in Greek manuscripts as possible evidence for differing editions. They continue by looking at the layout of 107 catena manuscripts of Romans and the consistency which is displayed in the indication and numbering of divisions. This sample provides a significant collection of data, illustrating many more general features and trends. **Theodora Panella** focusses on just four verses of 1 Corinthians in order to investigate the relationship of the commentaries of Oecumenius, Theophylact and Zigabenus, as well as the *Typus Parisinus* catena. Although Chrysostom is the ultimate origin of many comments, she demonstrates how this was often mediated through one of the other commentaries, as

well as identifying features typical of the individual catenists. **Garrick V. Allen** examines the scholia on Revelation attributed first to Origen and more recently to a previously unknown monk reliant on the lost commentary of Didymus of Alexandria. Allen concentrates on the exegetical practices of this commentary, demonstrating the sophisticated techniques employed by the author. He also considers the presentation of the scholia in the single surviving manuscript, which betrays evidence of a change in format during the transmission of the work. Based on her new edition of Theodoret's *Commentary on Romans*, **Agnès Lorrain** reflects on the difficulty of reconstructing the biblical text used by the commentator. Examples of alterations introduced at a later stage suggest that even the earliest surviving manuscripts may not represent the original form. What is more, the commentary is often so allusive that it could be used in support of multiple variants. Where readings can be reconstructed, the affiliation is, as expected, with the Byzantine text.

The following group of chapters turns to Latin tradition, although the first three contributions focus on its importance for the preservation of material from Origen. **Lukas J. Dorfbauer**, responsible for the recent rediscovery of Fortunatianus of Aquileia's *Commentary on the Gospels*, demonstrates how this work provides new evidence not only for the well-known emendation proposed by Origen to the place name in John 1:28 but also for the often-overlooked orthography of this noun in the principal manuscript of Origen's *Commentary on John*. Other passages are also considered in which Fortunatianus may also be dependent on a Latin version of this commentary. **Susan B. Griffith** compares Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke* with Jerome's translation of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* and their surviving Greek fragments, as well as Hilary of Poitiers' *Commentary on Matthew*. While Ambrose and Jerome's dependence on Origen is evident from their overlap with the Greek fragments, other shared passages may represent Greek material which has otherwise been lost. Careful attention to Ambrose's compositional practices is needed before he can be used as evidence for his sources. **Christina M. Kreinecker** explains how Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans*, too, is not a verbatim reproduction of its original but a creative reworking. Rufinus' treatment of the biblical text is of particular interest: the Old Latin version which he substitutes for Origen's lemmata is sometimes inconsistent with his translation of biblical quotations in the exegesis, prompting him to introduce text-critical observations.

Shari Boodts and **Gert Partoens** present evidence from a later form of Latin commentary, with a certain resemblance to Greek catenae: the exposition of the Pauline Epistles consisting solely of extracts from the

works of Augustine, assembled by Florus of Lyons in the middle of the ninth century. Several of the manuscripts used by Florus have survived, bearing witness to his manner of working. However, despite the existence of a partial autograph, the textual tradition of the commentary presents problems which must be addressed before a critical edition can be undertaken. The indication of sources in certain manuscripts offers another parallel with catena tradition.

The final two chapters address textual traditions which, although valuable for the textual history of the New Testament, were not included in the scope of the COMPAUL project. **Carla Falluomini** introduces the only New Testament commentary to be preserved in Gothic. Known as *Skeireins*, it was produced some time between the fourth and sixth centuries and covers the first third of the Gospel according to John. The majority of its biblical citations are of verses which are not otherwise attested in Gothic; agreements and differences between other verses and Wulfila's translation suggest that the biblical text of the *Skeireins* may, in part, derive from a different source. An intriguing connection has also been proposed between this work and the *Commentary on John* by Theodore of Heraclea, only preserved in catenae. Finally, **Matthias Schulz** sets out the evidence for New Testament catenae in Coptic and related languages. The principal Bohairic catena manuscript of the Gospels is one of the earliest witnesses to a catena, copied in the late ninth century. Unpublished fragments survive from two others, while one of the Ethiopic catenae appears to be a translation from Bohairic. The next best-attested Ethiopic gospel catena derives from an Arabic catena assembled from Eastern and Western authorities by a priest of the East Syrian Church in the early eleventh century, which is also transmitted in its original language; a third Arabic catena, on Matthew, was composed a century or so later.

In sum, this volume with its particular focus on Greek tradition (as well as contributions on later commentaries and those in other languages) addresses many of the areas in the history and transmission of commentaries which have not so far been covered in the publications of the COMPAUL project. What is more, each chapter explores at least one of the specific areas highlighted by the project: the significance of commentaries for the text of the New Testament, the internal consistency of biblical quotations, the manuscript presentation and transmission of commentaries, and the reuse of earlier authors by later commentators. Most of the contributions are based on fresh investigation of primary sources and, in several cases, constitute significant advances which make possible future research and further developments in knowledge. The editor would like to express his thanks to all contributors, especially those not directly involved

with the COMPAUL project, for their willingness to join in this collaborative volume and share the results of their original research. In addition, we are grateful to the Württembergische Landesbibliothek and the Bibliothèque nationale de France for permission to reproduce images of manuscripts in their collections.

The Ninth Birmingham Colloquium

As noted above, all the chapters in this book derive from presentations at the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. Founded by D.C. Parker and D.G.K. Taylor in 1997, these events have developed over the years into ever larger and more diverse gatherings of established textual scholars and doctoral researchers from across the world. The Ninth Colloquium was held in Birmingham on 2–4 March 2015, with the title ‘The History and Text of New Testament Commentaries’ and was attended by delegates from twelve countries. Generous funding from the European Research Council covered the expenses of several invited speakers: in addition to those who contributed to the present volume, these included Ronald E. Heine and Alexander Andrée, whose respective presentations on Origen’s gospel commentaries and the *Glossa ordinaria* were already scheduled for publication elsewhere.⁶

Following the pattern of previous years, guests were accommodated at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, where the famous textual scholar and editor J. Rendel Harris was once Director of Studies. The colloquium excursion was to the city of Worcester: despite the closure of the cathedral library for renovation, delegates were treated to guided tours of the cathedral and the bell tower which included the memorable experience of being in the bell chamber when the cathedral clock struck five. The speaker following the conference dinner in the University’s Staff House was Gordon Campbell, Professor of Renaissance Studies at the University of Leicester and co-chair of the international advisory council to the Museum of the Bible in Washington DC, who spoke on plans for this museum which is scheduled to open in 2017. Among the many who contributed to the colloquium, the organisers would particularly like to thank Lisa Davies

⁶ For Heine’s contribution, see Ronald E. Heine and Karen Jo Torjesen, ed., *The Oxford Handbook to Origen*. Oxford: OUP, 2016; Andrée’s presentation will appear in the journal *Traditio* under the title ‘Peter Comestor’s Lectures on the “Glossa Ordinaria” on the Gospel of John: The Bible and Theology in the Twelfth-Century Classroom.’

and Peter Chinn at Woodbrooke, Rebecca Fielder, Michael Brierley and Saskia Frisby at Worcester, Rachel Canty, Robin Reeve, Sue Bowen, Tim Pearson, Geoff Clinton and Sarah Edwards at the University of Birmingham and Jenny Rousell, Sue Kennedy and their team at Jenny's Kitchen. Members of the COMPAUL project team, especially Catherine Smith, worked exceptionally hard to enable the smooth running of the event.

This is the fourth volume of proceedings from the Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament to be published in the Gorgias *Texts and Studies* series. We would like to thank Dr Melonie Schmierer-Lee, Jeff Haines and George Kiraz of Gorgias Press for making this possible. The proceedings of the Sixth Colloquium, held in London jointly with the British Library, have now been published as Scot McKendrick, David Parker, Amy Myshrall and Cillian O'Hogan, ed., *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*. London: British Library; Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2015; other volumes are listed in the Gorgias catalogue. Finally, we would like to express our gratitude once again to the European Research Council for funding the open access publication of both this volume and the papers from the Eighth Colloquium online in the Gorgias Press Repository.⁷

H.A.G. Houghton
Birmingham, 29 February 2016

⁷ H.A.G. Houghton, ed., *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament. Papers from the Eighth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual History of the New Testament*. T&S 3.11. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2014.

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